1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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back to megalithic culture. One of the scholars most at home in prehistoric Indonesia has defined the relation as follows:

> Now it is very remarkable, that the so-called Hindu temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship f[or] i[nstance] the sungod Surya in the form of a statue, representing a man, sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Surya, onto which the godhead is supposed to descend in an invisible form, when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the temple is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.
>
> In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc. were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones, sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples; they are destined for Surya, the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till to-day the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.
>
> Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended onto the megaliths, for example onto the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, as still exist for example at Gèlgèl, are the prehistorical forerunners of the present-day "balé agung".
>
> In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. ... On Bali several places are found consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving."

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for the concept of 'godhead' or 'deity'. That translation gives Widi a personal character, more so, perhaps, than is anchored in Balinese thought itself. Sometimes the terminology corresponds even more closely to that of Islam. It has been said, for example, that 'the One God Allah' is invoked at the lotus-seat in the household temple.

The fact that people on Bali are occupying themselves with this question of the oneness of Widi is probably not without connection to the present political situation. Bali is now a part of a state by far the most of whose inhabitants are Moslems. Hence the Balinese are a religious minority. That fact makes them sensitive regarding religious freedom, and again and again there are statements, in the press and elsewhere, that give them cause for concern. For example, it was said in a leading Indonesian weekly a few years ago that if the Moslems won the majority in parliament and the constituent assembly in the impending elections Indonesia could be made a Moslem state. The reaction from Bali was not long in coming. Its writer asked what was actually meant by the term 'Moslem state'. Was religious liberty to be abolished by a simple majority vote? The Moslems undoubtedly had the power to do so. Would they then force the followers of other religions to embrace Islam? The writer closed with an appeal to the love of their common fatherland, for which adherents of all the various religions had made sacrifices, and with praise for the wise policy of the government, which left everyone free in his religion.[9]

Around the same time the rumour circulated that the government would only allow religions which "have a prophet, have a holy book, and are generally recognized ..." In parliament a Balinese member then raised the question whence the government would derive the right to stipulate such conditions. These discussions prompted a Moslem writer to argue that an appeal to religious freedom and democracy would lead to religious anarchy. All sorts of wild sects were springing up; did the government have to tolerate that? And as far as Bali was concerned, its religion could not be considered as the 'Hindu-Buddhist religion', with

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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nates) to be the best policy to attach the magic force to the *puri* or *kraton*. The epigraphs present a clear picture of a constantly increasing dependence of these crafts on the palace, the symbol of the Hindu-Javanese state. This was all the more desirable since they had traditionally enjoyed great prestige.

This is perhaps a proper place to touch on the question of the *sudras*, since it is a very important matter not only as regards the smiths, but also in connection with various other groups that have repeatedly given trouble to the Dutch authorities on Bali. I need only recall the *bujangga* or *sĕngguhu* affair in Mĕngwi. Lekkerkerker[7] and later Korn[8] pointed out in their dissertations that the use of the *agamas* or Hindu-Balinese law books by the Courts of Kĕrta in their adjudications is largely legal fiction. The same thing is true as regards the three-caste (*triwangsa*) system. In both cases canon law from elsewhere has nominally been retained and applied, while in actuality social relations on Bali have continued to be governed by traditional *adat* concepts. The relation between *adat* law and Hindu canon law in early Java and present-day Bali might well be compared to that between early Germanic law and Christian canon law in medieval Europe.

A few further comments on the *triwangsa* system may be appropriate at this point.[9] In the homeland of Hinduism the caste system was a stratification imposed on the conquered autochthonous population by the Aryans; on Bali it was perhaps a system imported from the Javanese realm of Majapahit. Up to the present no data have been found regarding a *triwangsa* structure on Bali before the Majapahit period, or at least before the beginning of Javanese influence during the reign of Erlangga in the early eleventh century.[10] The Majapahit influence – which does not date merely from the fall of Majapahit, thus in the late fifteenth century, but was strong from the time of Ayam Wuruk's reign, that is to say since around 1350 – transformed the direct Hindu-Balinism which had preceded it into a Hindu-Javanese Balinism.

In the *triwangsa* system the first caste was that of the Brahmins, from whose families the *pĕdandas* came. The second caste was that

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HOLIDAYS AND HOLY DAYS

1 See Goris, "Perhitoengan"; Goris, "Hari"; Goris, "Overeenkomst".

2 The new moon system is called *amānta*, and is followed in South India, Maharashtra, and Bengal. Probably the Balinese obtained it from Bengal, under the influence of Nālandā. The other system is called *pūrṇimānta*, and is followed in northern India and Telengana. It should be mentioned that the *amānta* system is also followed in the *Sūryasiddhānta*, a work on astronomy dating from around 400 A.D. Though I was informed by Balinese that a calendar reckoning from full moon to full moon was sometimes followed here and there on Bali, inquiry failed to lead to any further information. [171] [805]

3 This *pĕnampihan sasih* should not be confused with the expression *pĕnampian sasih*, designating the ordinary succession of one month after another. *Pĕnampihan* comes from *tampi:* to receive, to accommodate.

4 Āçwina is used in India, Asuji in Old Javanese documents.

5 With regard to this phenomenon that the last two months of the year have retained only Hindu names, and no Balinese numerals, it is of importance to point to the tradition recorded in the 'holy scripture' of Tĕnganan that the early ruler Bĕgawan Sĕganing Ening gave the Balinese two new months, Jesta (Desta) and Sada: Korn, *Tnganan*, 146.

6 Unfortunately I lack data regarding the other regions, despite repeated requests for information.

7 Javanese and literary Balinese *wuku*.

8 In which reference is made to a *pasar di wijayapura*, *wijayamanggala*, and *wijayakrānta*. In Tĕnganan a combination of the five-day and the three-day week is used. Two fifteen-day (5 × 3) periods form a Tĕngananese month, and twelve such months a year. For further details see Korn, *Tnganan*, 176 ff. [805]

9 Some Balinese figure exclusively in these *ukus* or *wukus*. Five of them form a *tumpĕk*, which then counts as a month (*bulan*), and twelve *tumpĕks* are a year, which thus consists of two *odalans* of 210 days each. [805]

10 With a few exceptions.

11 Something similar is, however, to be found in a weaker form in the western districts of Buleleng, especially in Pĕngastulan, where there are forty-nine temple festivals according to the Hindu-Balinese calendar, thirty-five according to the Javanese-Balinese, and seventy-two after the harvest (*usaba*). [796]

12 Tĕnganan has a quite unique calendar of holidays, the remarkable thing being that all festivals except Achi Galungan Bali follow the month system and not the *ukus*. For a detailed treatment of the subject see Korn, *Tnganan*, 176–227.

13 The epigraphs give quite a different impression for earlier times: in them only festivals according to the Hindu-Balinese calendar are mentioned. Listed are one in the month of Māgha, usually further identified with *mahānawamī* (on the 'great ninth'), plus one called *panghujung*, now unknown; one in the [796]

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paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation — a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

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293 24 The Balinese also believe that human beings were sacrificed
386 in Tenganan to make dyes for their famous ceremonial scarfs, the
[782] *kamben gringsing*,[4] a cloth that, because it is supposed to be dyed
[826] with human blood, has the power to insulate the wearer against
[751] evil vibrations and is prescribed at all important Balinese rituals. These scarfs, in which the warp is left uncut, are much in demand by the Balinese. The *kamben gringsing* is a loosely woven, narrow scarf of thick cotton with intricate designs in rich tones of rust-red, beige, and black against a yellowish background. The

[532]
[286]

Human Motifs woven on the *Kamben Gringsing*

process of dying and weaving is unbelievably long and complicated, and over five years are required from the time the cotton is prepared to the finished scarf, according to Korn. The threads are left in each of the dyes for months, macerated in kemiri oil for months to fix each colour, and then dried in the sun for months after each stage. The design is obtained by the double "ikat" process (*ikat*, "to tie"): that is, the threads of both the warp and weft are patterned previous to the weaving. To do this warp and weft are stretched on frames, and groups of threads are tightly bound with fibres at certain points before they are dipped

[171] [4] *Kamben* means simply "cloth," "article of dress"; *gringsing* means "flaming," "mottled" like an orchid. Single *ikat*, where only the warp is "ikated," is common throughout Indonesia, and some are famous, like the large shawls from Sumba, Sumbawa, Roti, and Flores, which are highly prized; but a "double *ikat*" is extremely rare; besides those from Tenganan, others known are from Gujirat in India and simple shawls made in Zurich, Switzerland (according to Ikle).

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Most markets have a
443 little shrine for the goddess of fertility and of gardens, Dewi
[778] Melanting, also the deity of the market, to whom the vendors make small offerings for good luck.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

564 It was surprising to discover the extent to which the question of
576 rank obsesses so simple and democratic a people as the Balinese. In our house every time Gusti came near, everyone scrambled down the veranda steps to place themselves at a level lower than his. Once in Ubud we received a visit from two little girls, high-caste dancers of ten. They were to spend the night in the house, but they would not sleep unchaperoned and a servant was appointed to watch over them; when they heard he was to sleep in the attic, twenty feet up, they snatched their pillows and ran upstairs, not to be defiled a second longer by an inferior located above them. They perferred to sleep on a hard bench rather than in the bed made for them, while the poor servant had to sleep on the floor. Once we visited a high priest, who invited us to remain for lunch; when the food came he apologized for having to ask us to sit down, because, he said, " the gods would not like it " if he, a Brahmana, placed himself at a level lower than ours. We observed similar situations over and over again among people of all classes.

Five centuries of feudal domination by an aristocracy have made the Balinese so conscious of caste, the determination of a man's place in society by his birth, that the whole of their social life and etiquette is moulded by this institution. A member of the aristocracy is constantly on the look-out so that his inferiors may keep to their appointed level and address him in the language of respect. Princes still demand the adulation and kowtowing of their former vassals, although now their power has ended and their prestige is greatly diminished. Caste rules today are largely restricted to the observance of established formulas of etiquette even among the princes, who were always fairly liberal. Caste
● [171] relations are relaxed and simple compared with the absurd intoler-
ance of India.

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In olden times men wore the hair long, but nowadays the younger generation cuts it short like Europeans. The women's hair should be long, thick, and glossy, heavily anointed with perfumed coconut oil in which flowers are macerated. The hair is kept in condition by washing it in concoctions of herbs. 302

When a Balinese has nothing to do he squats on the ground and pulls hairs from his face with two coins or with special tweezers, and women remove the hair under the armpits with porous volcanic stones. Some men wear moustaches, which are considered elegant, but only priests wear beards. It is a sign of distinction to wear the fingernails long, often four inches or more, showing that the wearer does not have to do manual work. Priests may wear the nails of both hands long, but the average well-to-do Balinese lets them grow only on the left hand. In Tenganan I have seen young girls wearing nail-protectors five inches long made of solid gold.

The teeth are ceremoniously filed at puberty to shorten them and make them even. Old-fashioned Balinese blacken them with a sort of lacquer that supposedly protects the teeth from the devastating effects of betel-nut. However, since betel-chewing is losing favour, young people keep their teeth white by polishing them with ashes, although in many cases the molars are blackened, and the front teeth left white. The custom of filing and blackening the teeth, which is widespread throughout Malaysia, has its roots in animistic ritual, to avoid having the long, white teeth of dogs. In Bali today the teeth are filed mainly for æsthetic reasons, since long teeth are ugly. 302 304 [171]

It is plain that the refined and sensitive Balinese make the most of their daily routine, leading a harmonious and exciting, although simple existence, making an art of the elemental necessities of daily life — dress, food, and shelter. 512

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532 Batur and Bratan; descending slippery ravines, into jungles, and
114 up steep hills, we found many old statues overgrown with vegetation, some of which seemed from early Buddhist days, while others looked as if Hinduism had never penetrated into those districts. Particularly interesting were the pyramids and strange carvings in wood in Sanda and Selulung; or the Polynesian-looking statues in Batukaang and Pengadjaran.

534 Perhaps the most remarkable of antiquities in Bali is the great
773 bronze drum kept in the *Pura Panataran Sasih* in Pedjeng, the former home of the demon-king Maya Danawa. Some Balinese say that it is one of the *subangs* (ear-plugs) of the moon, while others say it is a *Sasih*, the "moon" itself, that fell down to earth and was caught in a tree. It remained there giving a blinding light, preventing some thieves of the neighbourhood from performing their nocturnal work. One of them, bolder than the rest, decided to extinguish the source of light and, climbing on the tree, urinated on it. The "moon" exploded, killing the thief, and fell to the ground in the shape of the present drum, which explains why it is broken at the base. The people rescued it and placed it on a high latticed shrine in the temple. The drum is
534 of the style of the so-called Chinese drums of the Han dynasty
● 171 often found in Indo-China and even in Java, but it is the largest
531 and most beautiful I have ever seen. The Pedjeng drum differs somewhat from the usual Han drums; it is elongated, with three great handles, rather like the bronze drums found in Alor, the island near Timor, where they are still used as money, some being worth as much as three thousand guilders.[1] The drum is decorated on its sounding surface with a beautiful star in high relief surrounded by a border of sweeping spirals, and on its sides with borders between parallel lines rather like the popular design called "spears" (*tumbak*) by the Balinese: ▼▼▼▼▼▼▼. Furthermore, there are strangely primitive, or rather conventionalized, human faces in low relief that have no obvious relation to Chinese art and that are strongly Indonesian, with the

[1] Ernst Vatter: *Ata Kiwan.*

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characteristic leaf-shaped ornament worn behind the ears, the lobes of which are exaggeratedly distended by the weight of unusual ear-rings. The general style, the motifs, and the work-

One of the Faces on the Pedjeng Drum

manship of the drum are all definitely related to the unique bronze axes from the island of Roti, also near Timor, which were unfortunately destroyed in the fire of the pavilion of the Netherlands in the Paris Colonial Exposition of 1931 where they were exhibited. The axes and the drums seem to belong, rather than to a definitely Chinese culture like the Han, to an ancient, mys-

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171 terious Indonesian bronze age.[2] The Pedjeng drum is regarded
534 with great reverence, and people often bring it offerings.
[776] Another motif which appears to be of native origin is the
531 figure called *tjilí*, a silhouette of a beautiful girl with a body shaped like a slim hour-glass (two triangles meeting at their apex), with rounded breasts, long thin arms, great ear-plugs, and wearing an enormous head-dress of flowers. *Tjilí* shapes are made in wood, of Chinese coins sewn together, woven into textiles, modelled in clay to surmount tiles for roofs, and made into clay banks for pennies. They are painted on rice cakes for temple ornaments in Selat, and made out of palm-leaf for certain agricultural ceremonies of the old mountain villages or as containers for the soul of the dead (*adegan*) for cremations. *Tjilís* form the central motif of *lamaks*, those beautiful but perishable ornamental strips of palm-leaf, about a foot and a half wide by some ten to twenty feet long, made for feasts by the women, pinned together with bits of bamboo strips of *busung*, the tender yellow blades of the sugar or coconut palm, taken from the tree before the leaf opens. This is decorated with a delicate geometric pattern, a mosaic of bits of the green leaf of the same palm, cut with a knife into elaborate ornaments which are pinned on the yellow background, forming borders like the ones on the Pedjeng drum, ornamental strips (*bebatikán*), groups of rosettes called "moons" (*bulán*), the *tjilí*, and a stylized tree (*kayon*). These magnificent ornaments, perhaps the purest examples of the Balinese native art, last only for one day, and after hanging for an afternoon on an altar or a rice granary, by evening they are
[114] completely wilted. Spies has collected every different type of
[184] *lamak* design for a period of years and he has hundreds of them. He claims that every community has a peculiar design not found elsewhere.

[776] The figure of a *tjilí* seems to have a strange hold on the im-

[174] [2] Heine-Geldern attributes the bronze drums and bronze weapons unearthed near Dông-Son in Northern Annam and Tonkin to a peculiar culture of the bronze age which he believes penetrated from northern into southern Asia not later than 300 B.C. and perhaps even as early as 600 B.C. He called this the Dông-Son culture.

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346 531 teeth. For the same purpose there is a variation of this same motif, a *karang astí*, the jawless head of an elephant. The word *karang* means a reef, a rock, but it also is the word for setting jewels or for a flower arrangement. It has been attempted to [114] give these ornaments an esoteric religious meaning (according to Nieuwenkamp), the representation of the souls of inanimate objects — rocks, mountains, plants — of which they form a part; when a Balinese was pressed to explain why they did not have

Karang Bintulu chiselled on the Silver Sheath of a Kris

lower jaws, he replied that it was because they did not have to [522] eat solid food! This is, in my opinion, a typical Balinese wisecrack and not an indication of any such symbolical meaning.

[171] These motifs are the starting-point for the intricate volutes, leaves, flowers, flaming motifs, and so forth, strongly reminiscent of those used in ancient Java, but also found in Siam, Cambodia, and even in the objects of the Dyaks of Borneo, a people uninfluenced by Hinduistic art. All-over patterns are called *karang*, while the carved borders in the mouldings are named *patra*, of which there is a *patra olanda* (from the Portuguese word for Holland?), and a *patra tjina*, a "Chinese border." Here and there small panels are carved with representations of episodes from their literature: animals from the *tantri* stories, the Balinese Æsop's fables; suggestive scenes from the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* in which the nymphs of heaven make passionate love to Ardjuna

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covered with gold and silver, topped by a large crosspiece of ivory or ebony. The Balinese also made krisses of great simplicity, with the sheath and handle of a beautifully mottled precious wood called *pelet* which they obtained from Java. Old men claim that a fine piece of *pelet* for the crosspiece of the sheath or for the handle brought as much as fifty guilders in former times.

The shape of krisses is native Indonesian, free of all Hindu influence. It is found all over the archipelago from the Malay Peninsula to the Philippines and is invariably known by the name of *kris*. The Balinese form differs from that of the other islands only in details, and especially from the Javanese kris mainly in that it is considerably larger and more elaborate, although old Javanese blades are found in Bali, provided, however, with the richer Balinese hilts and sheaths.

The blade is the most important part of the kris; it can be straight and simple at times, but most often is fierce-looking, shaped like a flame, perhaps a form derived from a mythical serpent, a *naga*, since often there are krisses, not only in Bali and Java, but also in other parts of Indonesia, in which the body of the *naga* forms the blade, widening as it nears the top to make room for the curved neck and head of the *naga*. The upper part of the blade is full of barbs, dents, and curlicues wrought into the iron in an endless variety of styles, each with a special name, mysterious shapes that must once have had a now lost significance. There are also krisses with representations in high relief of elephants, bulls, winged lions (*singha*), and geese (*angsa*), which could possibly, at one time, have been related to the family totem. The extraordinary watered patterns (*pamor*) of silvery metal against a background of blue-black iron which have made krisses famous is the result of beating over and over alternating layers of meteoric nickel and iron layers until a fine moiré-like *pamor* is obtained, brought out afterwards by blackening the iron layers with a mixture of antimony and lemon juice. The kris is preserved from rust by a coating of coconut oil.

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classic technique for dramatic performances. Stories from the *Malat*, with much singing. Other plays of a similar character are the *tantrí*, *tjupak*, *basur*, and *parwa*.

ARDJA *Gamelan ardja*; flutes and percussions. The *ardja* is a modernized *gambúh* playing romantic stories like *Tjandra Lasan*, *Salya*, *Sidapaksa*, *Galolikuh*, and Chinese tales like *Sampik* and *Tuan Wei*.

BARONG LANDONG *Gamelan batél*; flutes and gongs. Giant puppets of a religious character, playing humorous stories, the adventures of an old woman (*djero lúh*) and a black giant (*djero gedé*).

DJANGER *Gamelan djanger*; flute, gong, and drums. A modern musical comedy with many foreign elements, performed by boys and girls.

KETJAK Large groups of men singing in chorus, moving and dancing to the rhythm of the music. Occasionally performing episodes of plays. Derived from the *sanghyang* and *djanger*.

All these forms will be described later, divided for easier recognition according to our custom under the headings of "dance," "plays," "opera," and so forth, by their most characteristic features.

Like music, dancing has developed to a standard of technical perfection that makes of it a difficult science, requiring years of special physical training and practice. Although strict rules are followed and the structure of the dance is made up entirely of traditional gestures that leave no room for improvisation or individualistic styles, there is a certain margin of freedom allowed for the dancer. Sound and gesture become one, definite movements ruled by the most rigid discipline. The excellence of a performer does not depend only on his skill, but also on his personality, his emotional intensity, and the expressiveness of his features. Only clowns (*bebanyolan*) have no special technique and no program. Personality and the spirit of surprise are expected of them.

Obviously there is Javanese influence discernible in the Balinese school of dancing, but they have drifted so far apart in spirit and in social function that they have little in common today. In Bali dancing is still a living popular art, while in Java, where

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dance of the higher order was dying until rescued in recent years by the sultans, today it is only in the high courts of the Javanese princes that fine dancing can be seen. In Java the fine dancer is a specialist attached to the court, often a prince himself; in Bali he is an ordinary villager with talent and skill who performs for the prestige of his community and for the entertainment of his neighbours. In Bali as well as in Java, it is a part of the education of a prince to dance, act, and play musical instruments, but in Bali a prince who organizes a theatrical group mingles with the common people and performs for their amusement. It is amusing to hear the Javanese and the Balinese deride each other's theatre: the Balinese think the dances of Java are meaningless, dull, and dead, but the Javanese are shocked at the "noisy" music of Bali and look upon their dancing as the product of rude and primitive peasants.

The Balinese have constantly injected new life into their theatre, in contrast to the Javanese, who, perhaps because of Mohammedan influence, have allowed the art to come to a standstill so that their acting suggests imitation of the movements of their archaic marionette shows (*wayang purwa*). The Javanese actor cannot express emotion except by the most conventional gestures, and his face remains fixed and mask-like. The Balinese act in an exactly opposite manner. They are gay, exuberant, and fond of gestures and slapstick comedy. Javanese masks are stylized, with long, sharp noses and slit eyes that eliminate all sense of the realism frowned upon by Islamism. The Balinese make masks of amazing expressiveness, often realistic in character, studies of standard types. I have seen a masked play with masterfully carved masks that were caricatures of Chinese, Arabs, and Europeans.

A theatrical group is organized by the villagers into a society along the same lines as a musical club. Contributions of money are made, instruments procured, and musicians trained. The future dancers are selected from the boys and girls of the community, taking into consideration their pleasing personal appear-

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the noise possible, beating *kulkuls*, tin cans, drums, and gongs, to frighten away the bodyless head of Kala Rahu and free the threatened sun or moon.

The religious service of the *pedandas*, the *maweda*, consists in the recitation of the *mantras*, the magic formulas, accompanied by ritual actions and significant gestures of the hands and fingers (*mudra*) to give a physical emphasis to the spoken word. Through concentration culminating in a trance, the priest becomes the deity itself, entering the body of the priest and acting through it to consecrate the water and emanate divine vibrations.

A performance of *maweda* by an able priest is one of the most beautiful sights in Bali. Such finished training, such showmanship, enters into its execution, and the hand gestures of the priest are so thoroughly imbued with rhythm and beauty, that the *maweda* is more than a simple prayer; it is a whole spectacle, a pantomimic dance of the hands. I have once seen a revealing film of a Nepalese Buddhist priest dancing with his entire body while he recited Sanskrit *mantras* and performed the symbolical hand gestures, and I have wondered if this was not the origin of the great art of Balinese dancing. Volumes have been written on the hand expression of the Hindus; *The Mirror of Gesture* of Comaraswami is already a classic; the beautiful hands of Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Indonesian Buddhist statues and frescoes are well known, and in Java we find the statues of the Buddhas of Borobudur in the positions of the *mudras*. De Kat Angelino in his *Mudras* gives us the most thorough study up to date of the Balinese *maweda*, painstakingly illustrated by Tyra de Kleen. Only a moving picture, however, could give an idea of its eerie beauty.

The most important activity in the everyday life of the *pedandas* is the performance of a domestic *maweda*, done every morning and on an empty stomach. Every fifth day (*klion*) and on days of full and new moons, the *maweda* is essential and more complete, with the full regalia of important occasions.

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moments, becoming weakened and unclean, and it is the office of their priests to cure this condition by neutralizing the evil forces, cleansing and strengthening the village or the individual thus defiled by spiritual sickness.

Thus, Balinese religion remains a colourful animist cult in which are interwoven the esoteric principles and philosophy of Hinduism, but this condition is by no means limited to Bali; Javanese Hinduism was of this sort, and even in India we find a parallel in the simultaneous worship of primitive demons, ancestors, and elements, belonging to the Dravidian lower classes, intermingled with the Brahmanic philosophy. To the Indian masses as with the Balinese, Siva and Vishnu may be dignified gods of a higher rank than the more accessible local deities, who remain, however, closer to the common people, perhaps because, like themselves, they are of a lower caste.

For the purpose of a general insight into the mechanics of Balinese religion we have prepared the following chart:

LEFT (*KIWA*)	RIGHT (*TENGEN*)
Evil, negative forces	Good, positive forces
The forces of the left produce the state of magic uncleanliness, weakening the soul power. A dangerous vibration called SEBEL in human beings makes unholy (TENGET or ANGKER) — that is, charged with dangerous vibrations — the places they frequent.	As opposed to the state of SEBEL, the forces of the right produce the spiritual and physical health, cleanliness (ENING, SUTJI, NIRMALA), that can be developed by acquisition of magic power (SAKTI, WISESA) to resist the evil forces.
DEMONS:	GODS:
KALAS and BUTAS, producers of impurity and ill health, living in the low, unholy grounds like the sea, the beaches, the forests, and the crossroads. Symbols of malice, coarseness, failure, misfor-	BATARAS and SANGHYANG, but primarily the ancestral spirits (PITARA), sources of life and magic power, dwelling on mountain tops, at the origin of the rivers and lakes. Ancestral gods, moun-

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

346 1. *Balinese Temples.* Perhaps the aboriginal form of Balinese temple was a square of consecrated ground in which were erected sacrificial altars, piles of stones, surrounded by a rough stone fence. Temples of this sort are still to be found in Tenganan and Sembiran, two villages that preserve much of the ancient religion. There are temples along the coast in the vicinity of Sanur reminiscent of these primitive temples, like the one on the beach of Sindú that consists of rough pieces of coral in shapeless piles, with a number of primitive statues as the sole decoration. The owners afterwards added shrines of dressed stone; then lately, to be modern, they built altars of cement, resulting in what looks like an object lesson in the progress and evolution of Balinese temple architecture.

171 346 There is a strong Polynesian flavour in these primitive temples. Ralph Linton (*Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, The Field Museum, Chicago) says: "In the Cook groups the temples were usually stone enclosures or platforms often without houses. . . . In the Society group . . . they were low walled enclosures with a platform or pyramid at one end. . . . In the Marquesas there were two sorts of temples, the public ones . . . and the mortuary stone platforms which bore houses . . . that had excessively high roofs so that the early writers often refer to them as obelisks. In Hawaii . . . the most important temples were stone walled enclosures containing a number of houses for the priests and images. . . . None of the images or objects symbolizing the gods seem to have been considered divine in themselves. They were simple bodies which the gods could occupy at will." These striking similarities between the Balinese and Polynesian religious spirits extend into the cult, into the social organization, and even into the physical type of the Balinese.

184 346 The Bali Aga, who were never subjected to the political and religious influence of the Javanese lords, build great austere temples with peculiar features such as the little bridge (*titi gonggang*), a stone placed over a hole directly in front of the temple gate, over which can pass only the "pure" — the gods and the virgin boys and girls of the village. Interesting also are the divisions of the Bali Aga communities: first into two great groups, right and left, each with its priests; then into four separate groups that meet in representative halls built in the temple: the married men who sit in council at the *balé agung*; the married women who sit in the *balé loh*; and the adolescent boys and girls with their special clubhouses, the *balé truna* and the *balé daha*. In Bali Aga villages the *balé agung* is still the heart of the political and religious life of the community

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782 decorated with lacy garlands of pig's fat and stomach tissues (omentum) which can be seen at great festivals.

Ordinary offerings to the house and for temple feasts are made by any woman; but for special occasions an offering, to be effective, must conform to certain specifications based on the influences that rule the day: the calendar, the cardinal directions, numerology and so forth. Each day of the week has its colour and numerical value that dictate the flowers to be used and the number of units in the offering. These rules are often specified in the adat, the traditional village law, but they are better known to professional offering-makers, Brahmana women (*Idayú*), who are engaged for a fee to direct the making of them.

[783] Offerings are sharply divided into "unclean," evil-spirit offerings (*metjaru, banten sor, pasegan*) and "pure" (*sukla*) offerings for the gods.

793 4. The Sunguhu. Sunguhus are low-caste priests whose main office is
564 the dedication of devil offerings in ceremonies of purification. Although
[783] Sudras, the sunguhu are a proud caste in themselves and claim descent from Sanghyang Tunggal and from Sanghyang Meleng, the Sun. The paraphernalia of the sunguhu, although generally poor and in deplorable condition, and their ritual are practically identical with those of the high Brahmanic priests; but accessories peculiar to sunguhus are the conch-
[534] shell blown by an assistant during his prayers, and the double drum
[171] similar to that of the Tibetan lamas, which in Tibet are made of two sections of the top of human skulls.

Like the high priests, they wear their hair long and in a knot, worn
302 low at the back of the neck and not on top like the pedandas, because
773 the worthy I Tusan, patron saint of blacksmiths and the greatest iron-
793 worker of ancient Gelgel, was unjustly exiled by a pedanda, who in time repented and, troubled in his conscience, tried to restore I Tusan, going into the forest in search of him. The blacksmith agreed to return only on condition that the pedanda carry him on his back. He had to comply and all the way the blacksmith hung on to the priest's topknot, pulling it down his neck (De Kat Angelino: *Mudras auf Bali*).

Dr. Goris (*Secten op Bali*) is of the opinion that they were the priests
114 of the *wesnawa* sect, now disappeared, the worshippers of Wisnu and Sri.
793 His attributes — the conch-shell, the turtle, the fiery wheel (*tjakra*) — are all Visnuite symbols. Furthermore, his spoken formulas, like those of the high priests, are in Sanskrit. He is in charge of the offerings of the Underworld, in contrast to pedandas, who dedicate the offerings to the Sun and Sky.

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supremacy, becoming Banaspati Radja, "Lord of the Jungle," the Barong's name. This would explain the origin of the Rangda and Barong if it were not for the fact that the Balinese are thoroughly confused in regard to their identity; I have been told that Erlangga himself turns into a Barong to fight Rangda and that Batara Budda and the Barong are the same. It is obvious, nevertheless, that they are not purely Balinese: Rangdas are unknown in the oldest villages and the character and appearance of the witch presents a striking similarity with the wild-eyed, fanged demons of Tibet and northern India, where Tantric Buddhism holds sway. In Nepal there is a long-haired devil called *lakahe* who dances like Rangda, holding a white cloth which it uses as weapon. Both the Rangda and the Barong seem to belong to the Tantric Buddhist lore, perhaps to the now disappeared Bhairawa sect that flourished in Bali in Erlangga's time.

Bhairawa Buddhism remains the deliverance element in the Hindu-Balinese religion, a short cut to the release of the soul from the cycle of reincarnations, attained not by simple propitiation of gods, but by direct control of the supernatural by man's own magic powers. The Bhairawas paid homage to a sort of Durga — Sanghyang Berawi or Begawati, their deity of evil and death — and they influenced the higher cult with a new demonology, death cult, magic science, and magic terminology. It imparted a strong magic flavour to the national religion, but it disappeared as a separate sect. According to Lekkerkerker and Stutterheim, Buddhism, or, rather, Buddhist magic, was introduced in Bali about A.D. 96, perhaps by the apostles, the brothers Mpú Kuturan and Mpú Bharada from Kediri (Daha). To them is attributed authorship of the civil and religious laws of Bali. Mpú Bharada, hero of the *Tjalon Arang* and teacher of Erlangga, was the magician who vanquished Rangda and today remains the most important figure in the magic lore.

A good deal of speculation revolves around the significance of the word *Barong*, for which there is no acceptable explanation. The Malay for "bear," *baruang*, has been suggested, but Malay was a recently introduced language and there were no bears in Bali. The classic Barong is called *barong ketet* or *kekek*, but there are also Barongs in the form of tigers (*barong matjan*), of pigs (*barong bangkal*), of lions (*barong singha*); and once we saw one in the shape of an elephant (*barong gadja*). There are also Barongs in human shape like the giant puppets (*barong landong*) who, holy as they are, perform ribald slapstick comedy. The main characters of the *barong landong* are Djero Gedé, "The Big One," an evil giant identified with the fanged monster Djero Gedé

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Metjaling, the demon of Nusa Penida, and Djero Luh, "The Female," a lewd old woman. Most intriguing Barongs are those reported in Trunyan by Walter Spies (*Das grosse Fest im Dorfe Trunjan*): in this ancient Bali Aga village a great festival is held in which the trunas, the virgin boys, with their naked bodies covered with dried banana leaves, which give them the appearance of great cabbages, and wearing frightful primitive masks, run around the temple grounds whipping savagely anyone who comes within their reach. These fierce monsters are called barong berutuk, a term for which there is no interpretation. Two of these are the druwené, the male and female berutuk Radjas, and are reminiscent of the Djero Gedé and Djero Luh of the barong landong. They are seen with respectful awe by everybody, and leaves from their dresses are supposedly infallible amulets. Daring people try to steal bits of leaf from their dresses, but are mercilessly whipped by the other berutuks, who seem to respect only the village elders and the small children. The ceremony ends at sunset, when the monsters are disarmed of their whips and the now confident crowd can approach to watch the lecherous love dance of the male and female druwenés, after which the entranced performers tear off their banana-leaf coverings and, completely naked except for their grimacing masks, jump into Lake Batur and swim for a while with the masks on, returning in the dark to have the sacred masks respectfully put away after the priests make offerings to them.

In behaviour and appearance the ordinary Barong resembles the Chinese lion or chimera called gee-ling that performs wild antics during the Chinese New Year to the tune of gongs, drums, and firecrackers. In Bali during the first month after galunggan, considered as the New Year, the Barongs are permitted to wander over the streets and roads making upa — that is, performing for pennies. The most sacred part of the Barong is its beard of human hair coquettishly decorated with fresh flowers. Penawar water, a protective amulet, is made by dipping this beard into ordinary water while saying a prayer. Hairs from this beard are worn around the wrists as amulets. There are also extraordinary Barongs that are covered with crow and even peacock feathers instead of the usual fleece of horses' tails or fibres. I was told of a village who wished to have a Barong of crow feathers; the villagers only had to pray for them and one morning they found the temple yard strewn with the most beautiful shiny black feathers.

Balinese with imagination have told me that the Barong is Mpú Bharada, who fights Rangda in this form; that he is Banaspati, the Lord of the Jungle, who is madly in love with Sanghyang Berawi and who

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using a marigold. With these words he made the water holy, calling upon the Ganges.[4]

When the priest had intoned this prayer, he picked up a flower, smoked it over the brazier, and gently wafted into space the essence of the *sloka*, two verses in Sanskrit sung to a special melody and meter:

Balinese Version	Sanskrit[5]
Wong perenamia perenadiem	*oṃ praṇamya bhāskaraṃ devaṃ*
Sarwa kelesa winasajem	*sarvakleśavināśanam*
Perenamija raksa sanem	*paramādityahitārthaṃ*
Boeta Boeti para nanem.	*bhuktimuktivarapradam*
Wong Ganggā Sarasoewati Sindoe	*oṃ gaṅgā sarasvatī sindhur*
Sapakosi kinandem	*vipāśā kauśikī nadī*
Jamoe Jama jamenandem	*yamunā mahātīrethā*
Sarwa joentja menandem.	*sarayūśca mahānadī*

English

Om. Having bowed to the Sun God,
The destroyer of all afflictions,
Having the supreme sun as his beneficent purpose,[6]
The best giver of enjoyment and release.[7]

[4] The Ganges is called upon (Betara Gangga) as the source of holy water, but the existence of such a river is unknown to the priest, whose only association with Betara Gangga is "the God of Water." Also, the phrasing for the macrocosmos and the microcosmos (*boewana agoeng, boewana alit*) is a mystery to him, though he knows that the world in man's body (*goemi di awaké*) is somehow concerned.

Text, taken from the priest's *lontar* (called *Wisana Déwa*): *Pakocloen mangkin seredah betara, moentjar aken tirta kambenaloe, oepetin nira Betara Ganggā, winadahan koendi manik, pinaka oeripin boewana agoeng, pinaka oeripin boewana alit, pinaka soekelaning boewana agoeng, pinaka soekelaning boewana alit, pangeleboeran ipén ala, oesara leboer toemoro, sasab merana, toedjoe teloeh tarantjana, sapataning wong atoewan, kaloekat kaleboer déning tirta kambenaloening betara, sadira aken mentjoer moentjerat, angilangmang dasa malaning manoesa, kenéng sapaning déwata, moeang manoesa wisésa, kasoepat déning tirta kambenaloening betara, moeksah ilang lara roga, sebel kandel, moeang patakaning djanma manoesa, wastoe poenah ilang sidi rastoe.*

Now Lord God be pleased, spurt forth the holy water (called) *kambenaloe*, the gift of the God of Water, in the jewelled pot as container, as if it brought to life the great world, as if it brought to life the small world (interpreted as 'the land and the sea in man's body'), as if it purified the great world, as if it purified the small world, transforming (changing for the better) whatever is evil, whatever is bad, pests of all kinds, illnesses of all kinds, cursed people of all ages. Let them be cleansed and transformed by the holy water *kambenaloe* belonging to the god, swiftly let the water spout and spurt forth, let them be lost, the ten ills of man, of those who were struck by the speech of the gods, or by people with magic power, let them be purified by the holy water *kambenaloe* of the god, let the woes of the invalided disappear and be lost, as well as those of women who are unclean being pregnant and unmarried, and of people who have never matured, let these evils disappear and be lost and washed away.

[5] Sanskrit edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Andrew Yarrow.

[6] Or should we read *paramādityaṃ śivārthaṃ*, which would be "the supreme son of Aditi, of beneficent purpose?" Both readings metrically deficient.

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These three lines accompanied the offering of the bowl and the water-jar. They should be used every time the water-vessels are offered.

Then he intoned:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Sakti Nagasari, kénak Padoeka Betara, titiang ngatoerang sarining asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, kepéndak déning Betara Sami, moeang widiadara widiadari.

Lord Holy Gods of Nagasari, be pleased Lord Gods, I offer you the essence of smoke of incense, *madjagaoe*, and sandalwood, may it be received by all the gods and by the *widiadara* and the *widiadari*,

as he wafted the smoke of the brazier towards them. This is the invitation to the *widiadara* and *widiadari* to descend.

Asking pardon (*Ngaksama*)

After this he "begged their pardon" (*nawegang*) with the *sloka* wafted with a flower:

Wong sama samoewem mahadéwa, sarwa perani winta karem, mamontjah sarwa papébioh, pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva), O benefactor of all living beings! Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada-Śiva! (see page 30)

He sprinkled water from the toilet-tray, repeating the formula given above with the bowl and water-jar. This he said was offering the toilet-tray and the wardrobe. Then he prayed:

Lord Gods, King Lord Holy Gods, be pleased Lord Gods to partake of the essence of the *pemendak* offerings, together with the *widiadari-widiadara*.

Wong joeratoe ja nama soewaha.

This accompanied the wafting of the *péndètan* or *pemendak* offerings, consisting of two sets, containing cakes, rice, peanuts, and *tjanangs genten*, *tjanang gantal*, and *tjanang rébong*. The libation of *arak berem*, and *toeak* followed, with the repetition of the appropriate prayer. (page 39)

Invitation to the nymphs (*Noentoen gegaloeh*)

Now the priest called for the *gegaloeh*, the little figures of palm-leaf prepared in the morning, to be brought out as representatives of the *widiadara-widiadari*. They were fetched from within the temple, and around their bodies was wrapped a long skein of red, white, and black thread (*benang seridatoe*) to which was attached a string of 1,000 *képèngs* (Chinese cash). The two little girls who carried the *gegaloehs*, aged 8 and 9 years, were in this way bound together by the skein of thread. This pattern is one which we have observed in other districts (Iseh, Selat) not associated with *gegaloeh*, but called *penoentoen* (*noentoen*, escort). And at cremations, the thread tied to the spear set in a coconut which leads the procession is also called *penoentoen* (Bedoeloe, Nèstanan). Here

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1. Infants. New born infants are regarded as close to the gods, and there is no special differentiation as to sex. All children up to the age of losing their first teeth, *tonden meketoes*, are thought of in this particularly holy category.

2. Children. Small men, *anak tjenik*, are children of any age up until they reach the age and maturity to be able to take on adult's work.

3. Men and Women. Adolescence is institutionalized in some of the old style villages, where the *trocna*, virgin boys, and *daha*, virgin girls, have a specific role to play in ritual, but on the whole this distinction has dropped out of the organization of the usual village. Boys and adult men and old men perform the same function in ceremonial, classed under the heading of males, *anak mocwani;* young girls and matrons and old crones dance in the same temple dances and prepare the same offerings, under the heading of females, *anak loch.*

4. Old People. Only the very old, those who are too old to work, to serve as the head of the household in the case of a man, are spoken of as grandfather, *pekak*, or grandmother, *dadong*. The toothless old are thought of as near to small children, and the transition through death and disintegration and back into life again in the form of a new babe is a conception readily acceptable and universally held. The great difference from the Hinduistic orthodox position is that the Balinese as a people do not believe that a soul may be reborn into any but its own ancestral line: it must return within the family, and this precludes the notion of being reborn into a higher caste.

The absence of particularly marked puberty rites, initiation ceremonies and the like, such as are common in the whole of southeast Asia at a more primitive level of development, is of special interest for the reason that rites reminiscent of Borneo and New Guinea are still to be found in some old style villages (Troenjan or Trunyan,[1] for example, or again, Tenganan Pagringsingan[2]). In the more developed, more typical Balinese village the line is not drawn between young folk and older people on the point of virginity, for in fact premarital unions are the rule, and very often a marriage is not celebrated until the girl is pregnant. The ability to bear a child, preferably a son, is in this fashion assured. Whether marriages are arranged or are love matches, the change of status from unmarried to married is marked by the carrying off of the bride (*ngerorod*), a pattern which has come down from the past, actually an enactment of marriage by capture. Like our custom of carrying a bride over a doorstep, or of throwing rice at the bridal pair, the customs persist in the folk ways though their meaning has, to a

[1] Spies, 1933.
[2] Korn, 1933.

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symbolic meaning of the rivalry of the Sivaite faith with the earlier entrenched Buddhism.

An alternative hypothesis for the origin of the Barong is that he came to Bali from China, a purely Chinese cultural form, a Chinese dragon in fact, who runs around the town at New Year's time and clears space of evil influence.[a] That this play with the mask and the multiple actors under the coat is a readily transmitted cultural form is attested to by his presence in New York City at the present time—the Chinese have brought him here, and he plays to a large and enthusiastic crowd every Chinese New Year. Money and food are given him in return for his protection, though he is terrifying and in order to present to him a cabbage the offerer impales it on the end of a long stick. Such a figure can travel, then, there can be no doubt. And we know that contact between Indonesia and China was established in Han times.

A Japanese student of anthropology in New York, after seeing films of the Balinese Barong, spontaneously remarked that in his village in Japan during his childhood such a mask dragon would come every year at New Year's season. It was called Chi Chi Mai and given money and food as offerings and played as a protection against evil. The only difference was, he said, that sometimes there was only one player.

The writer collected in Japan such a wooden mask, said to date from the eighteenth century (see Plate IX). In all its characteristic features, the bulging eyes, the great jowls, the hinged jaws with the hand hold for snapping them, it is clearly a very close relative of the Balinese Barong. Another specimen, also collected in Japan, is of wood covered with red lacquer. It is somewhat different in style and is said to date from the nineteenth century. It is not impossible that these masks and their ceremonial function entered China and Japan as a part of the Buddhist tradition. The form remained relatively frozen in Japan, as did other cultural items taken over from China; but in China itself and in the places to which Chinese have emigrated the mask is now made of papier mâché, renewable at each New Year's time, not cherished as a sacred object but kept alive only in the tradition.

In the past few years anthropologists have come to the realization that it is not sufficient to explain the presence of a myth figure by reference to culture contacts of the past. A myth to be entertained at all, must be integral to the culture at the time level under scrutiny. It is not enough to show that,

[a] Cf. Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188: "The Dragon can mark out areas which are safe from witchcraft . . . and also he can mark out stretches of time, e.g., by opening and terminating the Witch play."

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jective meaning for the participants than do the masked plays. Yet there is no sharp line to be drawn between the two sorts of appearances; a man who has been playing in the Barong may be possessed by the god of the Rangda; a woman may find herself late at night stabbing with a kris at her breast as if she were a man or carried away in a trance state, speaking as the Rangda.

There is a strong point of difference here between Balinese culture and many primitive societies in which the enactment of the masked supernaturals is a strictly male prerogative, women are excluded from participation but are present as audience, and the children, too, up till adolescence. (In Hopi and Zuni, for example, among American Indians; in Australian bull roarer initiation ceremonies.) In such societies, initiation into the knowledge of the secret of the mask performers constitutes a validation of the masculine role, a landmark in the boys' development. In Bali the point of difference is not to be attributed only to the relative advancement of these people, the non-primitive, complex nature of their culture, but to an intrinsic qualitative difference, a special point of Balineseness.

An immensely important feature of Balinese culture, one which is deeply characteristic of these people and which continually arises in any analysis of their ritual and of patterned behavior, is the crossing of sex roles. The sex

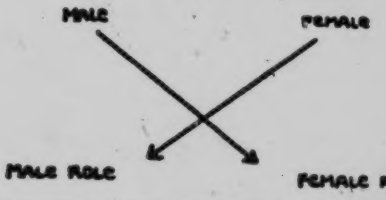

FIGURE 2. CHART INDICATING TREND TOWARD CROSSING OF SEX ROLES.

roles cross; they merge into an undifferentiated male female type and again are separated; there is a redivision of the sexes, which restores the polarity between them. These continual convergences and redivisions of the sexes are a part of their thinking, and much of the feeling at a deeper level, expressed in behavior, follows these lines. A chart of the relationships, overtly and covertly expressed, would look like this.

But, as the Balinese know, it is not so simpel as this. From the undifferentiated male female entity must again be separated off the male and female elements. The child, at first undifferentiated, repeats the motif.

This new being, created out of the union of the separated male and female

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the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

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one is reminded of the custom of putting to death one or both twin children, found in the great area extending from British India to New Guinea and Australia. Frazer, in *Totemism and Exogamy*, quotes from the Rev. B. Danks' article on the New Britain Group (Northern Melanesia) that in the Duke of York Island "if twins are born, and they are boy and girl, they are put to death because being of the same class (of two exogamous classes) and being of opposite sex, they were supposed to have had in the womb a closeness of connection which amounted to a violation of their marital class law". [1]) Again, Frazer tells of the tribes near King George's Sound, in South-West Australia, that "when twins were born, one of them was killed; if the children were of different sexes, they killed the boy and preserved the girl. The reasons which they gave for destroying a twin were 'that a woman has not sufficient milk for two children, and cannot carry them and seek her food' " [2]). Edgar Thurston states that "in Madras ... twins are sometimes objects of superstition, especially if they are of different sexes, and the male is born first. The occurrence of such an event is regarded as foreboding misfortune, which can only be warded off by marrying the twins to one another and leaving them to their fate in the jungle. Cases of this kind", he continues, "have however, it is said, not been heard of within recent times" [3]). W. H. R. Rivers has written of the Todas (Southern India) that "twins are called 'omumokh', and it is the custom to kill one of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or at any rate would have been killed in the past" [4]).

[1]) REV. B. DANKS, *Marriage customs of the New Britain Group. Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XVIII (1889), quoted by FRAZER, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II, p. 122, London 1910.

[2]) FRAZER, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London 1910, Vol. I, p. 549, on authority of Scotthind, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* I, (1832) p. 39.

[3]) EDGAR THURSTON, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, New York, 1912, p. 54.

[4]) W. H. R. RIVERS, *The Todas*, Cambridge. p. 480.

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temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender against the crown to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

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each locality, itself the child of an incestuous union of brother and sister). We do not know the child of the *ampasit*. A twin should marry a twin. If another person not a twin marries a twin, the *ampasit* will become angry and kill him" [1]). Such a belief, although not directly related to that found in Bali, is interesting in the suggestion which it offers of a perhaps similarly primitive belief existing in the primitive Bali, which might have been later overlayed by the Hindu concepts. If this were true all twins would originally have been objects of superstition. Yet most intelligent Balinese attribute the taboo directly to Hindu-Javanese influence. The lontars definitely state that "it is an affront to the king — *mamadă Rajă Dalĕm*". But much evidence points to an earlier fear of twins. Why do we find in four old-style Bali-agă villages twins of like sex considered bad, and only in one Hinduized village, where the special reason of twin ancestor gods exists to explain the unusual taboo? (Kĕtèwèl, see p. 528). Why are there bizarre elaborations of the rite in old villages? [2]) Why

[1]) Moss, *Nabalòi Law and Ritual*. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. XV, p. 273.

[2]) Such elaborations, for instance, as thrice burning the *kubu*, and the use of the *pusuh* as a substitute for the dead twin in Sukawană. Also, in a case of twins recently in Sĕlulung, the following rite, which was witnessed and related to me by Walter Spies: A *pusuh* was again used as substitute for one of the twins which had died, and when the crowd of villagers went down to the river not only the *pusuh* but the mother and the father and the remaining twin were cast into the stream (*anyudang*). This took place at a *champuh*, or meeting of rivers, and a dam had been constructed across the stream just below where the two rivers came together. The father, the mother holding the child, the *pusuh*, with various *cholong's*, coconuts, etc., were cast in the water above the dam, and then the dam was broken up, so that with a rush of water all were carried some little way downstream. Below this were stationed some fifteen men armed with spears, who with much shouting and excitement tried to pierce the *cholong's* and coconuts as they swept past.

Still another barbaric custom is that prescribed in Tĕnganan, when, after the parents of twins have been driven out of the village, their house is stoned by the villagers. See Dr. KORN's transcription of the *Awig-awig Désă* in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort 1933, p. 245.

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ride. When the car stopped, he awoke, and leaping out, looked about him desperately, crying, "Where's North, where's North? I'm *paling*."

So accustomed are the Balinese to know where they are in relation to the points of the compass that all instructions of direction are given in these terms, rather than in "right and left," or such designations as "towards me," "away from the wall," etc. The Balinese says "when you come to the cross-roads, take the turn to the West"; "pull the table southward"; "he passed me going North"—not "going towards the market"; even among musicians, "hit the key to the East of the one you are hitting." When for any reason this sense of direction is temporarily lost, when, as we phrase it, a man feels "turned around," he is not only uncomfortable but he is quite unable to function. We once sent a small boy of eight to a distant village where he was to learn to dance, living in the house of his teacher. Riding in the car, the child lost his sense of direction. When we visited him three days later, he had not begun his lessons, for he was still *paling*. "How can I tell him to turn to the East, to advance towards the North, when he is *paling*?" said the teacher. The boy was returned to his village, where, once on familiar ground, he found himself. After several days he went back to the house of the teacher, intently watching every curve of the winding road. But it was no good—he was again *paling*. He grew anxious, and was unable to eat and sleep. Then someone thought of taking him out into the fields, where he could see the high cone of the Goenoeng Agoeng, the highest mountain, rising to North. He was cured of his trouble on the spot, and had no recurrence of it during the six weeks of his stay in the village. He seemed happy there and made great progress with his dancing.[8]

As a rule the small children are not bothered with the responsibility of direction, for they play within the circumscribed limits of the particular *bandjar* (division of the village) which is theirs, or in the outlying rice-fields. On this ground they are at home. When they visit other villages they go in the company of their parents or near relatives, an older brother or cousin, who knows the way. But their

[8] It is probable that an important factor in what we know as homesickness is the dislocation of the sense of direction in unfamiliar surroundings. In the life of the civilized being, who continually moves about and changes the habitual interior from which he orients himself, this sense must be seriously disturbed. Wild animals seem to be perfectly oriented. And domesticated animals manifest uneasiness and make definite attempts to orient themselves, or to return to familiar surroundings, when they are removed from one place to another.

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Behavior at the Plays

Whenever there is a performance of dancing, drama, or the shadow-show, the entire village attends. The audience is packed closely around the four sides of the "stage"—an oblong of level ground marked off with bamboos. The first arrivals squat as near as possible, folded up into the least possible space and pressed against each other, the late comers stand in rows eight or ten deep at the back, the rear-most able to catch only an occasional glimpse of a performer's headdress. In this tight formation the audience remains from the beginning, which for a play may be anywhere between the hours of nine and midnight, to the end which comes about dawn. The whole temper of the audience is, from the actor's standpoint, ideal—watching, concentrated as one man, happy and pleasantly disposed in the warm contact of a large group of their kind, in festive mood, ready to enjoy themselves to the utmost. On the appearance of a hero, particularly graceful and gorgeous in his attire, a whispered "Bèh!" of admiration issues from a hundred mouths; and when the clowns cavort, or a rough joke is made, the entire audience rocks with mirth, the high shrieks of the women's laughter rising above the guffaws of the men. The smallest children, from two or three years upward, constitute the first rows of the audience surrounding the stage. They arrive long before the performers have any thought of beginning, and sit, in quiet expectancy, sometimes for several hours before the play begins. If for any reason a child arrives late, he will with confidence squeeze his way through the crowd, pushing past people of higher rank and superior in age, to a good place in the very front. During the performance, the children watch every detail of the action with intentness.[5] Generally even the tiniest ones stay through the night, although they fall asleep for hours at a time, and only manage to wake up for the most exciting parts, battles, or the enacting of bewitchment.

Older boys and girls, especially those who have passed adolescence, come to the performance in groups of two or three friends.

[5] In connection with the close integration of the Balinese children with the life of their elders, one sees a parallel with the gentle and maternal Arapesh people, as described by Margaret Mead. She says of their children, ". . . games are played very seldom. More often the times when children are together in large enough groups to make a game worth while are the occasions of a feast, there is dancing and adult ceremonial, and they find the rôle of spectatorship far more engrossing." And again, ". . . early experience accustoms them to be part of the whole picture, to prefer to any active child-life of their own a passive part that is integrated with the life of the community" (*Sex and Temperament*, New York, William Morrow and Company, 1935, pp. 57-58).

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576 way of life, their social and religious concepts, which hold them to a rigid pattern of what is fitting. In the use of language, as in other 576 matters, definite and complex rules must be followed. The Balinese 191 language, rich in terms with minutely differentiated meanings, is 564 also stratified into words of all levels, which may be roughly subdivided into High and Low Balinese. Low Balinese is the familiar and current language, used between members of a family and to all friends and intimates, except when there is a disparity of caste between the speakers. A man of low caste must address his social superior in High Balinese, and he will be answered in Low. The matter is further complicated when a man of intermediate caste is being discussed, for the commoner must choose a word in referring to him neither so low as to be insulting to the ears of the noble he is addressing, nor so high as to be discourteous, for the very highest words should be reserved for reference to the noble himself.[8] Special words are to be used only in reference to animals, and to apply one of these lowest words to a man constitutes an unforgiveable insult. Strangers who meet address each other in High Balinese, asking "Whence do you come? Where are you going?," and follow this immediately with a leading question designed to discover the rank of the interlocutor, so that the language appropriate to him may be at once adopted. There is no "farewell" in the language. Visitors must ask their host's permission to depart, and the answer to this request may be either the common "yes," a dismissal, or a choice of a polite word for "go," carrying a courteous inflection because of the relative highness of the word used.

576 Less complex, but equally rigid, rules prescribe the actual way of 516 sitting. Both men and women habitually squat on their heels, and this is the position most readily assumed when anyone stops for a moment what he is doing, either for conversation or for a short rest from hard labor (and it may be noted in passing that the Balinese [961] seem to take, automatically, a rest of five or ten minutes out of every hour of hard work; look at any ten men at work in the sun, and two will be sitting under a tree; half an hour later, two others will be resting). The squatting position may also be held over long periods, in the fulfillment of any task conveniently done on or near the ground, such as the playing of certain musical instruments, or the chopping and hashing of foodstuffs on a wooden block, in prepara-

[171] [8] It is as if we were to choose between the expressions "he has eaten," "he has dined," and "he has partaken of his repast."

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ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

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selves, they take part with enthusiasm in the elaborate preparation of offerings and the decoration of the temples, they enjoy to the utmost presentations of dancing, music, and drama, which the religion prescribes. It is significant that the audience for these presentations takes as much delight in them as the performers. Their own arts are to them completely satisfying, a fulfillment in the life of the people for whom they have been evolved. At such festivals one is impressed by the joyousness, the gayety with which the Balinese seem carried away. And just as these joyous occasions punctuate the dreary round of everyday life, so do the occasions of wild frenzy break into it, affording the individual a necessary release. If it were not for these organized departures from the habitual tempo, it would not be possible for the individual to conform, at all other times, to the rigid order of behavior which is exacted from him. And therefore we must recognize the two aspects, the quiet, relaxed, and peaceful tenor of the private life, and the intense and spontaneous exaltation of group activity, both of which are essential to the Balinese temper.

Interpretation

In conclusion, perhaps it will be well to stress once more the ease and relaxation in the ordinary behavior of the Balinese, so that an impression will not be left that any strain is caused by need to maintain a balanced equilibrium and a perfect orientation in social and geographical respects. On the contrary, the rules by which they abide seem to supply a simplication of behavior. For the Balinese life is divided into two phases quite opposed to those of the modern city dweller in our world; the Balinese works in relaxation, and in his pleasure finds intense stimulation, whereas our city dweller works under a strain of intense stimulation, and for his pleasure seeks relaxation. If there should be any doubt of the difference in tension between the two psychological types, let us imagine how the city dweller would react to certain conditions in Balinese life, as, for instance, living in a courtyard shared by ten or fifteen members of his immediate family, divided only by pavilions without walls; or sleeping in such close proximity as has been described, with a number of others; or enjoying a dramatic performance lasting for eight or nine hours, crouched in a press of bodies comparable only to one of our subway jams. These things do not offend nor put any strain upon the Balinese, because of the relaxation of his mood. Likewise

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pèngor and the *lamak* represent the divine couple Mountain and Lake Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu. The *balé gading* on the *pengor* is a bridal pavilion for Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu, just as the *balé gading* at the teeth-filing ceremony is a bridal pavilion for Kumara and Kumari. In the Smaradahana [10], the 12th century old Javanese epic, the *grèha danta* (XXVI.12) or metri causa, *mandira gading* (XXVII.1) denotes the 'pavilion for the daughter of the Lord of the Mountain' to which Manmatharipu (= Siwa) betook himself, there to lay with her. Significantly, the *pèngor* is also designated as *pèngantèn* and the *balé gading* is also named *anggah pèngantèn* (nuptial shrine).

[536]

In fashioning the *balé gading* the offering maker begins by cutting out the rectangular floor and then four 'pillars' called *cata mala* (cleansed of impurity), to support the roof which rises to an elaborately patterned point. Then she weaves two *tipat lèpas* (purification *tipats*), the larger one representing the bride and the smaller one representing the bridegroom. Obviously the *balé gading* of the *lis* is also a bridal pavilion. Next she cuts out a miniature basket, the *longlong lalasan*, the house of the snake, as it was explained to me. However, as far as I know the offering maker does not make any representation of the snake itself.

[585]

The *longlong lalasan* is placed between the *tipat wanan*, the bridegroom and the *tipat luh*, the bride, and the contents of the *balé gading* are fastened in position.

What is the significance of the snake between the bridal pair? Is the *longlong lalasan* a relic of an ancient tradition or is it merely an embellishment devised by the offering makers?

[771]

The *balé gading*, just as the *grèha danta* of the Smaradahana, must date back to a court tradition of Indian origin. Since the Smaradahana is essentially a Tantric text [11] there might seem to be grounds for assuming that the *longlong lalasan* is derived from the snake symbolism of the Tantric marriage ceremonies. The designs of modern Indian colour prints such as those printed extensively in Bombay — depicting Siwa and Sakti, feature large and small snakes. The significance of the snake Kundalini, the Sakti symbol, in this connection is well known. However, much more data is needed before any attempt could be made to identify the snake between the bride and bridegroom in the *balé gading* with the Indian symbol.

In making the lis *isuh-isuh* the offering maker fashions the various components in a definite sequence, beginning with the belly. A definite sequence is also followed in the making of the *lis sanjata*. The offering maker begins by cutting the shapes of the emblems of the four directions

[10] Text and translation by Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica III, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia (Jakarta), 1933.

[11] J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp, *Over Modisme Huwelijk op Java*', Indonesië, X 2, 1957, pp. 109 138.